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MEMORANDUM FOR: ✓ 1776

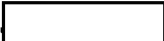
Brig. General A. J. Goodpaster
Staff Secretary
The White House

Mr. Dulles asked that a copy
of the attached Foreign Radio and
Press Reaction to U. S. Presidential
Election be sent to you.


Executive Officer

25X1

Attachment

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(EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FILE *White House*)

DAILY REPORT

MONDAY
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SUPPLEMENT

World Reaction Series

No. 4 -- 1960

FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION
TO U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION
TO U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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NOTE

This report reviews significant radio comment--supplemented for some areas by material taken from newspapers--available to at the time of publication. It should not be inferred, however, that all shades of opinion in all countries are reflected or that there was no reaction from countries not mentioned.

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S U M M A R Y

NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Free world radio and press comment on the results of the U.S. presidential election is voluminous and generally favorable. The president-elect's youth and political background are almost universally interpreted as auguring vigorous and liberal U.S. policies under the next administration. A majority of foreign commentators view this prospect favorably and even enthusiastically, but it is likewise widely felt that such policies entail elements of risk for the United States and the world. Most commentators anticipate a more positive and perhaps more varied approach by the United States to international issues and many expect beneficial results. There are some, however, who fear their own countries may suffer from a change in U.S. foreign policy, and there are unofficial reports of concern in some quarters that U.S. support for anticommunist positions may be less militant.

West European comment ranges from pessimistic speculation by some West German commentators through a "wait and see" attitude in France to the wholehearted approval of Scandinavian and most British observers. Arab World comment dwells almost exclusively on two subjects: The president-elect's attitude on the Palestine question, viewed as unfavorable but perhaps capable of adjustment; and the likelihood of his taking favorable action on the Algerian issue, which is generally welcomed. Reaction in Asia and the Far East varies from enthusiasm in India to apprehension in South Korea, with public comment in Nationalist China limited to expressions of confidence that basic U.S. policies will not change. Outside of Cuba, Latin American reaction is reported to be solidly favorable to the new president, who is expected to renew the "good neighbor policy" of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade press articles reflect optimism that Kennedy's leadership will move America ahead in general and, specifically, further improve the already satisfactory relations between the United States and Yugoslavia. A Radio Belgrade commentator is less hopeful, however, and expresses a desire to wait and see which election promises will be implemented.

SINO-SOVIET BLOC

Voluminous Soviet propaganda sees the election results as a defeat for the Eisenhower administration's policies, a defeat said to provide a

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new opportunity for settling U.S.-Soviet differences. There are frequent claims that U.S.-Soviet relations were excellent in Franklin Roosevelt's time and can be so again. The criticism of Kennedy voiced during the preelection period ceases abruptly, and commentators expressly adopt a wait-and-see attitude toward the new administration.

Peking agrees with Moscow that the results signified a popular rejection of past "cold war" policies but, unlike Moscow, sees not the faintest possibility that a Kennedy administration can move in the direction of detente. NCNA dispatches cite world press reports as evidence that U.S. "aggressiveness" will not change.

East European propagandists are less reluctant than Moscow to criticize Kennedy or to express doubts regarding any future policy change, but only Albania seems to side fully with Peking's uncompromising position.

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I. NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A. West Europe

Great Britain: The majority of the British press has warmly welcomed Senator Kennedy's election victory, according to the London radio. Several of the papers quoted by the radio welcome Senator Kennedy's aggressive spirit, the DAILY TELEGRAPH noting that the choice made by the American people "could well mark a turning point in history toward a new era, full of peril perhaps, but also of great promise." The TIMES points out that Britain has an interest in America being strong and that Mr. Kennedy's election is therefore to be welcomed because it insures that the president and Congress will be working together, and not in mutual frustration. The Yorkshire POST anticipates that if Kennedy fulfills his promise and the hopes resting on him the United States "in all probability will recapture the leadership of the Western world."

Several papers deal with the future of relations between the free world and the communist bloc. In assessing the prospects of a summit meeting, the GUARDIAN says Senator Kennedy is "less obnoxious" to the Soviet Union than Mr. Nixon would have been. It adds that the president-elect is the only man in the United States who could run the risk of recognizing Communist China and advocating its admission to the United Nations. The SCOTSMAN says that Mr. Khrushchev now will be dealing with new men but with old problems; it would be surprising if there were any great change in the American attitude.

The EVENING STANDARD, quoted by the Paris radio, welcomes the new president with the assurance that "the past is forgotten." The paper says the British want to forget Kennedy's Irish origin "and especially the painful memory left behind here by his father . . . isolationist Joseph Kennedy, who . . . did not conceal his admiration for the Nazi masters of Germany."

Reporting unofficial reactions at Whitehall and Downing Street, the same Paris broadcast points out that it will be difficult to replace the sincere friendship between Macmillan and Eisenhower, and that Macmillan's voice may in the future "carry less weight in the Western camp."

A discordant note comes from Northern Ireland where, according to REUTERS, a Belfast TELEGRAPH columnist has advised Mr. Kennedy to stay out of Ireland's partition problem.

France: Paris radio gives high precedence to news reports on the election returns, but French acceptance of the outcome is calm.

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General anticipation of a more vigorous foreign policy under the new president is tinged with interest in Kennedy's position on Africa, particularly Algeria.

DAUPHINE LIBERE voices the sentiment of a number of papers in expressing the belief that "a shock like that of Nov. 8" may have been a good thing "to pull America out of its torpor and to give the free world new hope." According to AFP correspondent Fernand Moullet, U.S. foreign policy in the future will be guided "more by a realistic vision of international problems than by ideological or strictly moral considerations." Roger Massip, writing in FIGARO, believes that the passing of the old administration will not result in any lessening of cooperation between the United States and its European allies.

Dealing with Kennedy's interest in Africa, which is stressed by several papers, LA CROIX believes it possible that Kennedy as president "will willingly assume a bold attitude toward overseas problems and will not hesitate to throw U.S. prestige into the balance if necessary." LE COURIER DE SAONE-ET-LOIRE notes that the ~~area~~ sometimes has given the impression 'of not understanding much about the tragedy France is facing in Algeria," but adds that men often react differently when faced with actual problems than when "they played the game without opposition."

Parliamentary leaders quoted by Radio Paris generally welcome the Kennedy victory. Francois Leonhardt, leader of the National Assembly's socialist group, declares that Kennedy represents "the party of movement" and points out that it is impossible to win the East-West contest by remaining in "the stagnation of conservatism." Former Premier Edgar Faure expresses understanding of the new president's position on the Algerian problem, likening it to that eventually adopted by Charles de Gaulle. A French Communist Party spokesman, while refusing to comment on the changes in U.S. policy that might follow the elections, says he hopes for the abandonment of the cold war policy and for peaceful coexistence. Other political leaders suggest that Kennedy will pursue a "more dynamic" policy; his election is greeted warmly by Guy Mollet and Paul Reynaud. Maurice Schuman sees the election of a Catholic as a "moral victory" for the free world.

Italy: Kennedy's election is viewed with satisfaction by Italian political leaders and the press. Premier Segni, quoted by the Rome radio, stated that Italians felt "profound satisfaction" at the U.S. demonstration of free democracy. Segni expressed certainty that Kennedy, like his predecessors, would continue to strengthen the ties between the United States and Italy and other European countries. The president of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Medici, said that Kennedy's writings and parliamentary activities showed that he was the man America needed.

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The Italian press generally sees Kennedy's victory as a reflection of the American people's desire for a strong personality and for new methods and energy, rather than new principles.

L'ITALIA notes that the future of "a good proportion of the world" is in Kennedy's hands and that it is for this reason that the American people chose him to lead the nation and the free world. IL PAESE interprets Kennedy's victory as reflecting the American people's desire for "progress and a relaxation of tension." IL TEMPO hails the promise of new methods and new energy which Kennedy will bring to his administration. In the new phase of the communist challenge to the free world, it adds, the United States needed a complete renewal of its government team. "Fortunately, this has happened." IL CORRIERE DELLA SERA believes that the American people have chosen the better man, but warns that it is too early to measure his stature. It lauds him for urging the American people to work and sacrifice to maintain "the greatness and the power slipping away from them." IL SECOLO XIX says the American people are now more than ever united in opposing communism and defending freedom.

AVANTI warns of the pressures to which the new president will be subjected by those who want him on their side. In this context, the paper asserts that the purpose of Chancellor Adenauer's coming trip to the United States is to induce Kennedy to make policy commitments regarding Berlin and the German question. Several papers agree with IL POPOLO that Kennedy's election represents the collapse of "the old religious prejudice" against a Catholic president. Comment on this topic from the Vatican is sparse, but it is generally indicated in press agency dispatches that while the Vatican approves the election of a Catholic president it foresees no changes in its relationship with the United States.

Scandinavia: Official comment from the Scandinavian countries is reserved. The premiers of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are all reported "pleased" at the outcome; Norway's Gerhardsen expressed the belief that the election result "will contribute to an improvement of the international situation." Swedish commentators suggest that the election was based more on personal qualities than political attitudes, and that while Kennedy's intellectual qualities arouse admiration and respect and his charm is great he lacks "intense feeling" or "idealism." A Stockholm radio commentator concludes that Kennedy, as the representative of a great power, enters the international political arena "not least as the spokesman of a new and young generation anxious about its elders' unsuccessful efforts to achieve understanding."

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According to Stockholm radio, Swedish papers have great hopes for the new regime and the new generation which will come to the White House; the papers quoted contrast the incoming administration with that of President Eisenhower. AFTONBLADET says Kennedy will have good use in the future for the qualities which have given him victory, for it will "take time and strength to make something great out of the inheritance from Eisenhower." In the same vein, ARBETET says a Kennedy government will be a strong one and people outside the United States will be anxious to see if Kennedy can regain "the power of initiative in international politics lost during the Republican administration." EXPRESSEN points out that Kennedy represents the new generation in U.S. politics and hopes that he will be able to "reverse the trend and return to the United States, and also to the whole free world, that belief in the future which is so difficult to grasp after such a politically stormy autumn." DAGENS NYHETER reflects the disappointment with the Eisenhower administration which permeates much of Scandinavian election comment, saying: "The fact that John F. Kennedy will be president for the next four years gives us hope that the United States will really achieve the revival demanded of the greatest democracy in the world at a time when such demands are greater than ever before."

AFP reports that Copenhagen papers welcome Kennedy's election. AKTUELLETT declares that Kennedy will be in a better position to face Khrushchev than was Eisenhower, whose position had been weakened. BERLINGSKE TIDENDE foresees no important changes in U.S. foreign policy, despite Kennedy's criticism of the outgoing administration.

Benelux: In a message broadcast by Hilversum radio, Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns expresses the belief that Kennedy will pursue "the same policy which has proved beneficial to the free world." Asserting that the new president can be viewed with the same confidence accorded Presidents Eisenhower and Truman, the minister points out that Kennedy will have an advantage which Eisenhower lacked--a majority in Congress.

NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSE COURANT, quoted by Hilversum radio, attributes a decline in American prestige to the "far from inspiring spirit" in which President Eisenhower's administration handled foreign policy. The paper says it expects no "spectacular" changes from Mr. Kennedy, but is looking forward to a "more intensive" policy. TIJD also recalls that Kennedy had reproached the Eisenhower administration for a dip in U.S. prestige, and calls on him to raise it. ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD calls Kennedy's victory an important event for the whole Western world. Noting the importance attached to the president-elect's decision on the nomination of a secretary of state, the paper says that Adlai Stevenson has the greatest appeal from the European point of view.

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Belgian papers, briefly reviewed by AFP, approve the election of Senator Kennedy. According to LE PEUPLE, Kennedy seems "better equipped than Nixon . . . to bring peace to the world." LA CITE interprets the Democratic triumph as a condemnation of Republican policy.

Switzerland: Bern radio commentaries view the election of Senator Kennedy optimistically, applauding his youth, his dynamism, and his demonstration that the religious aspect of political questions has diminished in importance in America. According to one commentator, the general lines of U.S. foreign policy will remain the same, but under the Democrats this policy is expected to be more flexible than under the Republicans.

The Swiss press anticipates a more active international policy from the United States. JOURNAL DE GENEVE says the Democratic victory foreshadows "a resumption of active internationalism by the United States," which would be a positive move "provided it is accompanied by equally active representation of Europe on the international stage." GAZETTE DE LAUSANNE suggests that Kennedy's European policy will be more flexible, but hopes for "better understanding of the need for a compromise equally acceptable to the Six and the Seven" in the European economy. BASLER NACHRICHTEN expects economic issues to take precedence over military issues in U.S. foreign policy, with a consequent curtailment of the system of bases abroad when other means of "equal value" have been assured. The Zurich WELTWOCHTE declares that what is fundamental in the struggle between communism and the free world is "whether the coming generation in America understands the intellectual, political, and moral problems of its own country and the world and learns to assume responsibilities beyond individual striving for profits."

Greece: Athens radio carries congratulatory messages by the King expressing assurance that Kennedy's term of office will contribute to the consolidation of world peace, and the Premier's wish for continued American defense of world freedom and justice. One Athens radio commentary refutes the communist interpretation of the election result as a condemnation of the Republican "cold war policy" and the communist attempt to present the Democrats as ready to accept the "communist peace," recalling that the Democratic Party was in power at the time of the Truman doctrine and the Korean war and pointing out that both parties agree on opposition to communism. Another commentary observes that the narrow margin of victory excludes the interpretation that the people condemned the policy of the Eisenhower administration.

Spain: An editorial in YA points out that when the U.S. presidency is held by a Democrat, Spanish-American relations are "above party politics," but also cites the good relations which have existed under the Republican administration.

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EL ALCAZAR notes that Kennedy's election has been received favorably throughout the world, but thinks it probable that the same reception would have been accorded a Nixon victory.

West Germany: Party and government leaders in West Germany foresee a continuation of current U.S. policies, though pursued perhaps more energetically with regard to peace and security in general and the German and Berlin problems in particular. The press and radio represent Chancellor Adenauer as hopeful that "trustful German-American cooperation" will continue. DPA reports that Bonn diplomatic circles are "satisfied" that the "vacuum of uncertainty in the West's common policies has now been removed." Bonn feels "no doubt about the firmness of U.S. policy under Kennedy's leadership."

Party leaders quoted by DPA voice confidence in Kennedy's attitude toward the German problem and Berlin. The CDU-CSU anticipates cooperation between the German Federal Government and Kennedy, a CDU spokesman states, stressing the need for Western unity under U.S. leadership. The SPD press service asserts that "the voice of the United States will resound with greater strength and self-assurance," giving "fresh confidence to the free world." The FDP expects that the free world will regard Kennedy as the guarantor of a consistent U.S. foreign policy in the future. Hamburg CDU Chairman Erik Blumenfeld, after personally observing the U.S. elections, asserts that Kennedy will be "stiffer" in regard to the German question than Nixon would have been. Berlin Senate circles welcome Kennedy's election "without reservations," DPA reports. Mayor Willy Brandt and the Federal commissioner in Berlin express the conviction that with Kennedy Berlin's future is in good hands.

Press and radio commentators welcome the election of Kennedy, stressing that a new era of American politics seems to be in the offing, with greater flexibility and increased military power. Papers of all affiliations feel that the leading role of the United States will be emphasized more strongly, that the uncertainty overshadowing the common policy of the West will be eliminated, but that no basic changes in American foreign policy are likely.

All commentators speak of Kennedy as dynamic, liberal, and intelligent. Although the supranational significance of the position of a U.S. president is stressed, only two papers, ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG and TAGESSPIEGEL refer to Kennedy personally as the "leader of the free world." Kennedy is not "passive and defensive like Eisenhower but active, aggressive, and willing to make decisions," HANNOVERSCHE PRESSE says. On American-Soviet relations, agreement prevails that Washington will remain adamant, that Kennedy will initiate world political developments, be more flexible and energetic in trying to maintain a "peace through power" policy, in the words of DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, and not fall prey to Soviet trans-

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There are no indications that Kennedy will be weaker in dealing with the East even though he considers the islands of Quemoy and Matsu not worth a war, says SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, while other papers agree that Kennedy will not follow an appeasement policy and that he is determined to stop the communist advance in the world. It is also said that Moscow's praise for the election of Kennedy is based on the erroneous assumption that he will steer a milder course than his predecessor, according to SAARBRÜCKER ZEITUNG.

Press and radio commentators devote particular attention to the possible effects the election of Kennedy may have on Germany, with agreement prevailing that the future of Germany is assured by Kennedy's strong commitment toward Berlin. It is taken for granted that an American-Soviet agreement at the expense of Germany is out of the question, but that Germany must be prepared to make greater sacrifices and contributions for the sake of a stronger Western policy, particularly since Kennedy called for sacrifices for a "greater America." Berliners had hoped for more from Nixon but are now satisfied with Kennedy, notes a Radio Frankfurt commentator. Some papers consider a visit by Kennedy to Berlin quite possible.

Speculation on West German adjustment to a new and dynamic American course is wary, some observers fearing that Bonn will have difficulties in catching up with coming personnel and government changes in Washington. Adenauer's planned meeting with Kennedy is considered most important since German foreign policy is based on a close link between Bonn and Washington. GENERAL-ANZEIGER believes that Adenauer feels somewhat uncomfortable about the curt dismissal the American electorate gave Eisenhower and his protege Nixon.

The Cologne weekly RHEINISCHER MERKUR notes that more emphasis on Africa and Asia in U.S. foreign policy is likely since Kennedy believes a rapid change in the world balance of power will take place in the next 10 years. ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG believes Communist China might agree temporarily to a coexistence policy after Kennedy's statement on Matsu and Quemoy, since the communists can expect to gain the islands without war. If, however, this attitude of the United States is interpreted as abandonment of the containment policy, the communists will try to conquer more of the free world, the paper warns.

Austria: The Austrian radio features Austrian political leaders' statements welcoming Kennedy's victory. Socialist Party head Pittermann is quoted as saying that Austrian Socialists expect that "an end will be put to the unfortunate policy of choosing semifascists or outright fascists as allies in the struggle against communism," and that "democracy must not be allowed to degenerate into a policy of collaboration with totalitarian representatives outside of the communist ideology."

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Austrian radio commentator Ostry, ascribing the "serious blunders" of the Eisenhower administration mostly to the professional soldier's lack of political training, hails the fact that Kennedy has such political experience and adds: "One is tempted to speak of a transition from 19th century romanticism"--which until now marked U.S. foreign policy--"to the cool matter-of-factness of today's young generation." This, he says, is bound to result in a major change in East-West relations, although it remains to be seen whether young Kennedy will muster enough patience to get along with his old and tradition-heavy European allies.

The Austrian press generally welcomes Kennedy's victory. People's Party and Catholic Papers stress the fact that it showed that a Catholic can win the presidency; Socialist papers welcome it in the hope that Kennedy may become a "symbol of progress like Franklin D. Roosevelt"; and the Communist press evinces hope that he may turn out to be a "lesser evil." The consensus of the non-Communist press is that Kennedy has everything necessary to become a dynamic free world leader. There are frequent references to his sound judgment of world problems, and expressions of appreciation for the general tenor of his campaign. But many papers say that it would be wrong to expect of him drastic changes at once, and others caution that problems in East-West relations may prove as tough to him as they did to his predecessor. Some papers suggest that Kennedy has yet to grow into his leader's role.

The hope is widely expressed that under Kennedy's leadership the West will succeed in wresting the initiative in the East-West struggle from the East. Several papers expect an early meeting with Khrushchev. While it is widely assumed that Kennedy will devote increased attention to Asian, African, and Latin American countries, there is little expression of apprehension that he might neglect Europe on their account. Only the independent NEUE KURIER wonders if Kennedy might not be tempted to disregard the relatively small but "so difficult to handle" Europe in favor of Afro-Asian and Latin American areas. But this paper adds: "Kennedy amounts to a hope and a risk--but Nixon would have been hardly much less of a risk, while offering far less hope."

There is no direct criticism of the president-elect, but some papers sympathetic to Nixon imply that Kennedy might be influenced by "Roosevelt eggheads," whom they hold responsible for the postwar vacuum which permitted the expansion of "communist imperialism." The independent SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN says: "Had Roosevelt's Democrats not failed so miserably in world politics in the early forties, mankind's peace would have been assured long ago." PRESSE claims Europeans are worried over the possibility of an "era of erratic, dangerous experimenting," especially in view of the Democrats' need for spectacular successes.

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The following quotations convey the general tenor of cautious optimism in Austrian press comment on the Kennedy election:

"Kennedy has made it clear that he wants to regain for the United States moral leadership in the world. It is self-evident that as U.S. president and the Western world's leader he will oppose the imperialistic claims of communism, and he will probably do this more efficiently than it has been done by the Eisenhower administration lately." (ARBEITER-ZEITUNG) "The era of retarded repair of political blunders could now be over, and an age of new concepts could be initiated." (EXPRESS) "There is every indication that this new road will be marked by greater dynamics but at the same time by greater elasticity." This alone is a most welcome aspect of the election outcome." (OBEROESTERREICHISCHE NACHRICHTEN)

B. Middle East

The main theme of Arab radio and press comment is concern whether Kennedy will fulfill his campaign promises to Israel. A second topic of major concern is future U.S. policy on Algeria.

UAR: In UAR comment, a commentary from the Egyptian radio says the Democratic victory was more a repudiation of Republican policy than a triumph for the Democrats, and that the voters could find in neither candidate a strong personality to be fully relied on to lead the country in difficult years ahead. All other comment appears in the UAR press, reviewed by UAR radios and the MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY. Cairo's AL-AKHBAR points to the American people's desire for a change and Republican policy errors as the main factors in the result.

No change in the broad lines of U.S. foreign policy is foreseen by the Damascus AL-WAHDAH, which asserts that as long as the United States is leader of what world peoples--"particularly the Afro-Asians"--regard as the imperialist camp, a change in American policy toward adherence to peaceful coexistence and respect for freedom and self-determination can only be imposed from outside, by the "struggling peoples." The Cairo AL-AKHBAR, however, affirms that there doubtless will be new policy trends, though perhaps more changes in "methods" than substantial modification of policy. AL-JUMHURIYAH greets new reports of a possible East-West summit conference, adding that Kennedy stated in his campaign he was ready to meet Premier Khrushchev to remove the "bad results" of Republican policy toward the USSR. Among several papers referring to the election issue of American prestige, AL-AKHBAR says Kennedy was chosen on the basis of his promise to revive American prestige, which history proves has fluctuated depending on the upholding of America's founding principles, and will not increase with progress in missiles or atomic weapons.

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On the major theme of Cairo and Damascus comment--Kennedy's election promises regarding Israel--there are varying estimates of the danger of these and the probability of their implementation. While AL-AHRAM says on Nov. 8 that the ~~time~~ has passed when the success of either party could affect the destiny of the Middle East, since Arabs determine their own policy, a ~~Haykal~~ article in AL-AHRAM on Nov. 11 speaks of the "great danger and great evil" in Kennedy's election in view of his pro-Israeli statements and the great role of the United States in guiding world destiny.

The Cairo radio asserts that Kennedy has the same policy toward Israel as Nixon, continuing the policy of Truman, who created Israel, and warns of a "clash" if Kennedy attempts to implement his promises under "Jewish pressure." AL-JUMHURIYAH, reviewed by Cairo's Voice of the Arabs, asserts that the American capitalists of both parties continue to regard Israel as their principal base in the Middle East and a prop for expansion and influence. On the other hand AL-AHRAM, also quoted by Voice of the Arabs, says Kennedy is not bound by his pre-election promises, except the one to revive U.S. prestige, and to achieve this he must not permit the United States to be used as a tool, as it was in the Palestine question. AL-JUMHURIYAH says Arabs are waiting to see whether American leaders have learned the "grave danger" to security and freedom represented by world Zionism, and whether they will adopt the only road to a better Middle East atmosphere through recognition of Arab nationalism. A Cairo radio talk in Hebrew asks Kennedy to free himself from the policy of promises to Israel by Truman, Roosevelt, and Harriman and to follow his own policy, adding that the Arabs want to preserve their ties with the United States to insure relations based on understanding.

Radio Cairo notes Kennedy's statement that he would seek a solution to the Algerian problem in the interests of self-determination, and in its "Voice of the Algerian Republic" program says that all that is desired from the United States is neutrality in the Algerian struggle.

Iraq: Comment broadcast by the Baghdad radio ranges from limited approval of the new president to hostility. The radio's single commentary on the elections asserts that only experience will show whether Kennedy will emulate Roosevelt or Truman, the "creator of the cold war"; while his statements on Israel show him to be the same as his predecessor, his views on liquidation of imperialism in Africa offer "some hope." The commentary expresses hope that Kennedy will change American policy toward Arab causes, rectifying past Republican policies such as support for Israel, which "has harmed United States relations with the Afro-Asian people," the theory of the vacuum, and aid to France in Algeria--all actions which were "specific policy" rather than errors.

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The rightist AL-AFALI asserts that world peoples have grounds to believe that U.S. policy may tend to calm the prevailing atmosphere and remove the world from the brink of the abyss where the Republican party dragged it. AZ-ZAMAN says there is naturally talk of changes in American policy toward preserving world peace after failure of the summit and disarmament talks, and other crises.

Several papers are openly hostile. The independent AL-AKHBAR says Kennedy will be the same as President Eisenhower in adopting a policy bound to "intensify world tension" and that the warmongers will capitalize on Kennedy's "inexperience" and willingness to "take risks" to "implement their plots." According to the leftist AL-BILAD, in view of Kennedy's pledge to increase military strength the election was won by the policy of the cold war, the armament race, and "intensification of the domination of the peoples of the United States, West Europe, and the backward countries by the imperialists and monopolists."

Jordan: Amman radio, widely reporting world press reaction, reviews an AL-JIHAD article asking Kennedy to review his campaign pledges backing Israel, which if carried out would increase the anger of all Arabs against the United States, and calls for a cautious wait to see Kennedy's policy on the Palestine question. According to the ARAB NEWS AGENCY, Falastin says that the shift of power to the Democrats, who are known for their "daring decisions" regardless of consequences, is a potential danger, and AL-IANAR hopes Kennedy will not follow in Truman's steps regarding Israel.

Lebanon: Two Beirut radio commentaries do not foresee serious changes in American policy and find hope for renewed East-West negotiations in Kennedy's campaign pledge to increase American prestige, his support of the principle of negotiations, and his assertion that the United States and the USSR both desire to free themselves from the armament race. According to ANA, the rightist independent AN-NAHAR says Kennedy is no more influenced by Zionism than Nixon, and calls for Arab efforts to work to make fruitful the "new era" in America's views toward the Arabs.

Israel: The Israeli radio comments that if a Catholic can win, perhaps "in the more distant future, a Jew can too." Among Israeli papers quoted by the radio, DAVAR says two main reasons for the victory were the renewed vigor Kennedy gave his party and the symbol of religious tolerance which the candidate came to be. The Jerusalem POST recalls Kennedy's four-point declaration regarding Israel, which included the proposal for an Arab-Israeli peace conference, and HABOKER asserts that fulfillment of such promises depends to a large extent on Israel's insistence on their fulfillment, adding that elements "without sympathy for Israel, such as Senator Fulbright, may propose easy solutions."

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The Jerusalem POST believes Kennedy's election will result in strengthening the international position of the United States so that it can more successfully compete politically and technologically with the USSR. HATZOFE and IERUT say the new president should be fully trusted not to repudiate his promises.

Iran: The Teheran radio carries ample news coverage of the election and a brief statement by a Foreign Ministry spokesman saying the Iranian Government and people welcome Kennedy's election and hopes for continued cooperation and good will in work for peace and betterment of the peoples of the world.

Turkey: Radio Ankara comments that as a politician of the younger generation Kennedy is expected to initiate a "dynamic" American domestic and foreign policy. His main campaign theme concerned the alleged decline of American prestige, and he expressed the desire to be a president who would not only prevent war but save the peace. That is why the American people chose Kennedy and why the free world expects him to achieve victory for peace and freedom.

C. Africa

Morocco: Radio Pabat, reviewing Senator Kennedy's public statements on Algeria, reaches this conclusion on the election results: "The trend which U.S. policy will now follow has become clear. The U.S. State Department will apply all its influence to promoting an immediate solution to the Algerian dispute, taking into consideration the interests of the Algerian nationalists." Citing a report from Tunis, the radio says that Algerian leaders there have refused to express any opinion on Kennedy's election, although they regard his campaign statements on the Algerian problem as "ambiguous if not contradictory."

Libya: Echoing the Rabat radio's praise for Senator Kennedy's repeated expression of deep interest in the Algerian problem and his view that Algeria is more than a French problem, Radio Benghazi voices the hope that "a new president and a new policy will replace the old" and that Kennedy "will not forget his great sympathy for the Algerian cause, on which the Arabs have built high hopes." The radio commentator notes Arab disappointment in Kennedy's views on Israel but expresses hope that he will reconsider the "justice and reason of Arab insistence on regaining Palestine."

Other African Countries: The Addis Ababa radio broadcasts Emperor Haile Selassie's congratulatory message to the president-elect but offers no original comment. AFP quotes the Mali newspaper L'ESSOR as hailing Kennedy's election primarily because his statements on Africa were "more explicit and less vague" than Nixon's.

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The paper believes that "Kennedy's election will contribute to the development of underdeveloped countries without affecting their independence."

D. Asia and the Far East

India: Senator Kennedy's election has been received with great satisfaction in Indian political and press circles, Delhi broadcasts and dispatches report. His friendship for India and appreciation of its problems and objectives are the subject of much of the comment, and hope is expressed that priority will be given to the extension of aid to underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The fact that the U.S. Congress is to be Democratic is also viewed as making easier the implementation of long-term economic development plans for underdeveloped countries. Many commentators note that the world looks to Kennedy to provide leadership in creating conditions for peace, fighting poverty and ignorance, and enlarging freedom.

The TIMES OF INDIA states that although Kennedy could not start with a clean slate in foreign affairs, he could adopt "less rigid attitudes" and work for a "detente with the Soviet bloc without losing face." The INDIAN EXPRESS offers similar comment and suggests that a "summit conference will be a distinct possibility next year." The TIMES OF INDIA also hopes that a new effort may be made to break the deadlock on disarmament and to achieve "peaceful settlements in Europe and the Far East, without which international peace is not secure."

The TIMES OF INDIA notes that the people of India and of other underdeveloped countries "have particular reason for gratification" at Kennedy's election, saying that "he has a keener appreciation of the economic needs of the 'forgotten regions.'" The HINDUSTAN TIMES observes that Kennedy advocated these views as long ago as 1957 and subsequently helped to give effect to some of them in legislation of which he was a cosponsor. The INDIAN EXPRESS concludes "that one may trust therefore that the new administration will implement and augment the flow of U.S. economic assistance to this country," and that if he succeeds in imparting to his "blueprint" some of the "unconventional image which he has carefully projected on the American consciousness, it may mark a turn for the better in the recent history of the United States and the world."

Although no direct comment from Prime Minister Nehru is quoted, a PRESS TRUST OF INDIA dispatch states that "Nehru is reported to have noted that Kennedy had promised to bring about a new outlook in U.S. foreign and domestic policies; American policies might now take a new turn, Nehru is reported to have said."

N. Sanjeeva Reddy, president of the ruling Indian National Congress, is quoted by PTI as saying: "Let us hope he will give a new outlook for the solution of world problems."

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Asoka Mehta, chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, said, according to PTI, that "Mr. Kennedy is a good friend of India and his election introduces youthfulness into world leadership; we have no doubt that there will emerge new aims and new endeavors for world peace and cooperative progress." A. K. Gopalan, Communist Party leader, views Senator Kennedy's election as a triumph for the forces of peace in the world, according to PTI.

Pakistan: Pakistan's cordial relations with the United States, says the Karachi radio, began during a Democratic administration and further strengthened during Eisenhower's Republican regime; it can be hoped that this friendship will be continued in the new administration. Pakistani officials quoted by the radio welcome Kennedy's election and hope for stepped-up aid from the United States. Sources close to the Pakistan Foreign Office are described by India's PTI as not expecting any immediate change in U.S. policy toward Pakistan, especially in regard to military and economic aid, but they fear that the new administration "might shift its emphasis toward neutralist India from the present administration's stress on regional military pacts." The possible role of Chester Bowles and Adlai Stevenson, "ardent friends of India," in determining the foreign policy of the United States is viewed with apprehension, according to PTI reports.

One newspaper is quoted as noting that "rightly or wrongly, an impression has been created that Kennedy does not believe in pacts and alliances into which the Eisenhower administration successfully persuaded a number of underdeveloped countries of Asia, including Pakistan, to enter, thereby linking their own fate with that of America's and incurring the ill will and even anger of the Soviet bloc." PTI quotes the English-language MORNING NEWS as attributing to President Ayub Khan the view that "the United States would not be doing any great favor in giving military aid: it would not be just kindness; it would be in their self-interest and self-preservation."

Ceylon: No official comment on the results of the U.S. election has been monitored, but Ceylon's political party leaders, including those of the former ruling United National Party and the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaj party, say that "the outcome will make no difference to the main lines of American policy," according to PTI. The election is seen as "the triumph of youth" and "victory over religious prejudice." Former Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake says he hopes "the victory over religious prejudice is merely a prelude to the elimination of racial prejudice in the domestic affairs of that great country." The CEYLON DAILY NEWS said, according to PTI, that nations would look to the new American leadership to pursue the cause of disarmament with fresh determination.

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It welcomed the president-elect's "promise of leadership and not salesmanship" and expressed the hope that "this pattern would dominate all aid channeled from nations that have to those that have not."

Burma: Only news reports on the election results are carried by the Rangoon radio, but PTI attributes to Prime Minister U Nu the view that any change in U.S. policy following the change in U.S. leadership would not come at one stroke. "Let us wait and see" was U Nu's conclusion.

Thailand: No comment on the elections has been monitored, but AFP reports that on election day "election fever was running high" in Bangkok, with much interest being shown in the results.

South Vietnam: Saigon-Cholon editorial reaction to the Kennedy victory ranges from apprehension to wholehearted approval. The Chinese-language press, which had bitterly attacked the candidate's views on Quemoy and Matsu, is particularly cautious in its evaluation of the possible course of U.S. actions, but most papers look for a rejuvenation of U.S. foreign policy. The English-language TIMES OF VIETNAM describes the president-elect as a "committed internationalist" and states that Kennedy, "perhaps more than his campaign opponent, recognizes despite his youth the critical position in which the free world stands in the face of the communist threat." It also notes with satisfaction Kennedy's "bold ventures" in foreign policy which bring hope to underdeveloped countries.

The Chinese-language AH CHAU JIH PAO is satisfied that "no matter which party is in power, there will not be any great difference in foreign policy." But it warns that "small nations of the free world must rely more on themselves instead of entirely depending on the great powers." The election, AH CHAU adds, shows that the American people are dissatisfied with Republican foreign policy and that the U.S. Government will now seek an "appreciable change" in many fields. U.S. foreign policy would benefit from reexamination, and the United States will continue to qualify as free world leader only if it competes for the hearts of anticommunist people and strengthens the free world alliance.

The Chinese-language YUAN TUNG JIH PAO praises Kennedy as a man of action and determination and expresses hope that he will be able to change U.S. policy from a negative to a positive position in dealing with communism. The Chinese SUN WUN JIH PAO hopes that Kennedy's proposal to "abandon Quemoy and Matsu" was only a campaign tactic, observing that "if Kennedy considers these islands indefensible and wants to abandon them he had better take into account the consequent developments in the world." SHIN SHUN JIH PAO, also Chinese, warns that Kennedy "must be aware that his every action will have repercussions on the world situation; he must avoid the 'fresh, bold promise' tactics of the campaign."

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Vietnamese-language editorials, in contrast, take a decidedly confident view of the Kennedy victory. TU DO declares that "it is time for the free world to change its tactics against the communists and take the initiative." It expresses the hope that "the rejuvenation of U.S. leadership will blow fresh air through the anticommunist countries" so they can move to the offensive against communism. It also predicts that U.S. foreign policy will now follow a "liberal and versatile course consistent with the new world situation." The semiofficial CACH NANG QUOC GIA declares that if the policies outlined in the Kennedy campaign are applied the result will be prosperity for the United States and the "collapse of all the dictatorial regimes which are sowing calamity everywhere."

Carbodia: Radio Phnom Penh cites Kennedy's background as evidence that he will be an effective leader of the free world. Noting Kennedy's extensive past opportunities to observe diplomacy and foreign policy formulation, the English-language commentary asserts: "Certainly the world will not find in Mr. Kennedy a brash young man who would plunge the world into war any more than it will find a weary old man to whom war is still an extension of the present. His political experience is equally good. The leader of the West in these days must understand grassroots politics, because all the people with whom he will deal are politicians who have come up the hard way." It concludes that "the world in general, and the West in particular, has a leader singularly fitted to deal with the problems which now cloud the horizon, a leader who will bring fresh thinking to a world with little time to lose."

Indonesia: Jakarta radio reports favorable foreign reaction to the election and carries the congratulatory messages addressed to Kennedy by President Sukarno and Soviet Premier Khrushchev. The Jakarta papers BERITA INDONESIA and PEDOMAN, according to ANTEARA, expect "something new" to emerge in international relations but do not hope for any change in America's attitude toward the West Irian question. BERITA INDONESIA forecasts a relaxation in East-West relations because Republican "hardheadedness" has been replaced by a group which "seems to be more flexible" in facing its Soviet antagonists.

Singapore and Malaya: Singapore radio's English-language commentator observes only that Kennedy will be a "full time" president, capable of providing vigorous leadership.

Australia: The dominant note in Australian papers, according to the Melbourne radio, is the hope that the new president will be able to negotiate with Khrushchev to ease world tension. The Melbourne AGE and the WEST AUSTRALIAN believe that Kennedy will have to introduce more flexibility into American foreign policy, which has been too rigid for too long. The WEST AUSTRALIAN adds that while much depends on the choice of a secretary of state, there can be little doubt that "Kennedy will make the decisions."

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The prompt message of congratulations from Khrushchev to Kennedy, says the Sydney DAILY TELEGRAPH, shows that "obviously Russia also regards Kennedy's election as the beginning of a new deal." The Adelaide ADVERTISER adds that Khrushchev's appeal for a return to the Stalin-Roosevelt spirit is not the happiest of comparisons, since no American can forget that this led to Yalta, where "Roosevelt signed the most disastrous treaty in his country's history."

Nationalist China: In its initial reaction to Kennedy's victory, Radio Taipei, after noting the "misunderstanding" among "many Chinese people" that a change in administration might foreshadow a change in U.S. policy toward Chinese communism, expresses satisfaction that Kennedy in the final round of his debates with Nixon "restated his endorsement of Eisenhower's offshore islands stand."

The press, Radio Taipei reports, is of the unanimous opinion that there will be no fundamental change in U.S. policy toward China. Some papers predict an even firmer attitude in dealing with the communist bloc because, as the official SHIN SHENG JIH PAO says, the Democrats have "corrected the 'Stevensonian line' of appeasement." CHEN HSIN HSIN WEN expects Kennedy to "raise American prestige through actions to help defend the Taiwan Strait."

A CENTRAL DAILY NEWS editorial, noting the bipartisanship of U.S. foreign policy in the past, expresses the belief that the Kennedy administration will continue "to strive to safeguard the national security of the United States and the collective security of the free world" and hopes that the future Kennedy government will follow the "policy of strength" as a means of attaining peace.

South Korea: Seoul radio reports generally favorable reaction among ROK political leaders to Senator Kennedy's election but notes their feeling of concern about possible changes in U.S. policy toward South Korea.

Chu Yo-han, chairman of the Democratic Party policy committee, is quoted as believing that the new administration "will pursue a more elastic foreign policy than the outgoing Republican administration," but he admitted his concern over possible U.S. policy changes toward Communist China and Korea, especially over the proposal for the neutralization of Korea in the Austrian fashion as contained in Senator Mansfield's report. A leader of the old-faction Democrats, voicing the same concern, observed that "important changes in the U.S. policy toward our country as well as important events in our country in the past all occurred under Democratic administrations."

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Noting fears that the "strong anticommunist defense line" may be weakened by the coup in South Vietnam, Kim Kyu-han comments in a Seoul radio broadcast that this is "the first important development facing Senator Kennedy" and claims that "the measures taken to cope with this development will serve as the acid test of the United States' new policy." A Seoul radio commentary on Kennedy's election points out that the American people voted for Kennedy because of his youthful appeal, the fact that "they wanted a change," and the fact that he can work better with a Democratic Congress. "They have accepted his call for a stronger America which will be able to negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position superior both militarily and economically."

Japan: All major Japanese newspapers comment favorably on the election results. One or two express minor misgivings, and several lay considerable stress on the problems which confront him both at home and abroad. None expect sharp changes in U.S. policy toward Japan; most, however, feel that inevitable adjustments in U.S. foreign and economic policy will have repercussions in Japan. Most papers note possible effects of the election on the current Japanese political campaign and warn Japanese parties not to try to use the results to their own advantage.

In its Nov. 10 editorial ASAHI sees as the greatest significance of the Kennedy victory the desire of the American people for a change, a desire to break away from the present serious and dangerous deadlock in international relations which indicates serious self-reflection by the Americans. Discussing Kennedy's foreign and domestic policies, the paper says they show a vigorous determination to meet the Soviet challenge squarely in a broad field of peaceful competition. The paper hopes the USSR will respond with a similarly flexible attitude and prepare for sincere talks with the new U.S. Government. ASAHI also sees the election as of deep and direct concern to Japan, and says there is hardly anyone who doubts that the new administration will lend a more attentive ear to the voice of Japan and give more consideration to the feelings of the Japanese people. In an editorial on Nov. 11 ASAHI discusses possible effects of the election on Japan's economy. It warns that it would be dangerous to be overly optimistic and expect too much, but urges the government to expect changes and prepare for them. ASAHI's "Divine Voice, Human Words" column says the United States, which had been showing signs of old age, may now return to a pioneer spirit with its youthful president, but notes that many foreign leaders feel anxiety about Kennedy's age and lack of experience.

YOMIURI considers that "the choice of Mr. Kennedy is a tribute to the good sense of the American people," but it cautions: "We have the impression that, in view of the readiness of the 43-year-old president-elect to accept the Soviet challenge to the supremacy of the American way of life, the world will soon find itself at a crucial crossroads."

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The editorial ends with the observation that there are many countries, and not only in the Western camp, which will feel some uneasiness about Kennedy's victory, and it hopes that "he will shore up his own weaknesses by appointing first-rate veterans to his administration." Expressing almost identical views, MAINICHI adds that there will probably be no major change in U.S. policy toward Japan, though "there may be some slight change in nuance; still it is inconceivable that President Kennedy will agree to the abrogation of the U.S.-Japan security treaty or to Japanese neutrality."

NIHON KEIZAI, while agreeing that U.S. policy toward Japan will remain the same, judges from Kennedy's speeches that he will be somewhat more insistent on Japanese restrictions of exports to the United States and somewhat more inclined to protect the U.S. textile industry. The paper hopes the new president "will view this matter from a broader viewpoint."

JAPAN TIMES sees the change in administration as an opportunity for new ideas to influence the policies of the U.S. Government, though "it is perhaps doubtful whether these new ideas will suffice to help materially to cure international tensions, the crying need of the age." The paper urges that any changes in U.S. foreign policy be carefully considered before they are made, that proper consideration be given to the wishes and aspirations of friends and allies, and that any attempt to secure better relations with the communist bloc not involve the sacrifice of any fundamental principle.

While not as unanimous as the newspapers in hailing the Kennedy victory as a "good thing," Japanese radio and television commentators generally express at least qualified pleasure with the election results. A common judgment is that "Japan, and the world, expect much of Mr. Kennedy's youth and positiveness." Others: "Kennedy's election shows that Americans expect him to break loose the current static state of affairs, especially in the field of economic and diplomatic competition with the Soviet Union" (Hosokuwa on JOAK-TV); "The American people hope to regain through the Kennedy election economic, diplomatic, and scientific leadership" (Fukuda on JOAK); "The Kennedy victory will bring a new breeze in international politics" (Hasegawa on JOAK); "We anticipate a broad approach to the security treaty and base issues and a more understanding attitude toward Japan in trade matters" (YOKOTA on JOAK-TV); "The fact that he did not mention peace in his acceptance speech and express his views on relaxation of East-West tensions discourages us" (Koiwai on JOHR); "The Kennedy victory is obviously advantageous to the Socialist and Democratic-Socialist parties in their election campaigns . . . but we should not falsely presume that the Kennedy administration will support Japanese neutrality" (Aikawa on JOKR); "There is a possible disadvantage because of his youth; fear of war under a Democratic administration still lingers" (Fujiwara on KRTV).

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On an NHK-TV news roundup Socialist Party Secretary General Eda says: "I look forward to a dynamic change from power politics to a courageous policy for world peace. First we hope for an early Khrushchev-Kennedy meeting, with the five neutral powers exerting their efforts; then, a reexamination of the security treaty is desirable; and removal of U.S. military bases would represent a sincere handshake with the United States." SCHYO Chairman Kaoru Ota, speaking on a JOLF radio news roundup, says: "U.S. labor unions supported Kennedy, and for that reason alone we feel his policy will be a good one. The Socialist Party can now replace the Liberal-Democratic Party, which worked closely with the Republican administration, and move toward a policy of neutralism with the Democratic Party government. Kennedy's election should be regarded as a boon to Japan's working class."

E. Latin America

While much interest in the election is shown by Latin American radios, comment on the election is limited generally to brief statements by government leaders, organizations, and the press. With the exception of Cuba, these sources are nearly unanimous in welcoming Kennedy's victory as indicating a return to Franklin Roosevelt's good neighbor policy. Comments are primarily concerned with U.S.-Latin American relations, and very few references are heard regarding the election's impact on world affairs.

Argentina: The view prevailing in Buenos Aires, according to AFP, is that Kennedy's victory will "open the way for a change in U.S. policy toward Latin America." Economy Minister Alsogaray, the SAPORITI news agency reports, expects no change in U.S.-Argentine economic relations.

Brazil: Brazilian concern for its "Operation Pan American" plan is reflected in President Kubitschek's greetings, quoted by the Brazilian radio home service, in which he expressed confidence that the plan will enter a "definitive state," and in an AFP report that Brazilian official political circles expect Kennedy's "complete support" for the plan.

Chile: Chilean Foreign Minister Vergara, according to AFP, is convinced that U.S. aid to Latin American nations will be increased because of Kennedy's "awareness of the realities" of Latin American political problems.

Colombia: In one of the few comments on the effect of Kennedy's election on the U.S. leadership in the free world, the conservative EL SIGLO is quoted by AFP as saying that "obviously the Kennedy administration will have no objective other than to improve the great democratic nation and to defend the Western cause." Kennedy's victory is a "triumph of democracy over dictatorial communism."

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Mexico: Mexico City's Cadena Radiodifusora Mexicana commentator, noting that the Republicans in the past eight years "have never been too friendly to Mexico," welcomes Kennedy's victory because of the "traditionally respectful, sincere, and cordial attitude of the Democrats."

Guatemala: Radio Quezaltenango attributes Kennedy's success to his "great personal magnetism" and to his past public services, adding that the youth in Kennedy is matched by a flexibility of approach to national and international problems. Kennedy's victory, according to AFP, was well received in Guatemala, but no official comment has been monitored.

Venezuela: Kennedy's triumph was "received favorably" in Venezuelan political circles, AFP reports. "In Caracas, where Nixon's unpopularity was made evident during his visit, the popularity of Kennedy has even reached the man-in-the-street."

Paraguay: AFP reports without elaboration that while favorable opinion prevails among the National Republican and opposition Christian Democratic parties, "some Febrerista leaders' opinions are unfavorable."

Uruguay: National Council President Benito Nardone, AFP says, expressed the hope that the new administration would further contribute to cooperation and understanding among members of the American community.

Ecuador: Foreign Minister Chiriboga, AFP reports, said Kennedy's victory offered new prospects for a "more vigorous, timely, and generous U.S. policy toward Latin America. He believes Kennedy will "vigorously carry out" the new development program announced at the Bogota meeting of the Committee of 21.

Dominican Republic: Dominican radio comment on the election of Kennedy is divided, with La Voz Dominicana expressing hope of a bright new era, and Radio Caribe viewing both presidential candidates as representatives of U.S. capitalism.

La Voz Dominicana commentators praise Kennedy's "brilliant and promising youth, . . . the brilliant concepts of his political beliefs and of his political program, which includes first and foremost a revision and improvement of relations between the United States and Latin America." The commentator attributes to Kennedy "a keen desire to rectify the errors of the Republican administration." Another commentator on the same station asserts that Latin Americans are confident that there will be "a rebirth of the spirit of solidarity in the White House." In contrast, Radio Caribe asserts that both Kennedy and Nixon have shown a complete lack of understanding of U.S.-Latin American relations, and that Latin America can expect nothing from Kennedy's election.

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Cuba: Cuban radio and television comment on Kennedy's election is almost uniformly unfavorable and in general is delivered in the same caustic tones which typify Cuban propaganda attacks on the Eisenhower administration. A very few comments indicate a preference for Kennedy over his opponent, but the consensus is that Kennedy shares the attitudes of the present administration and will continue its policies. It is said that the American people did not vote for Kennedy, but against Eisenhower; that Kennedy is a "dunce," a "millionaire," and "a monopolist," and that a change in the U.S. policy toward Cuba is unlikely. A Union Radio Network commentator predicts that Kennedy will continue to protect "war criminals, monopolists, and traitors," and that he will "seek to destroy the Cuban revolution." Radio Mambi refers to Kennedy as "the new emperor" whose term in office will "foreshadow the doom of imperialism." Radio Rebelde charges that "Kennedy represents the same methods and objectives put into practice by Eisenhower and Dulles" and that "he seems willing to continue blocking the Chinese People's Republic's admission to the United Nations."

Speaking on the CMQ television network, commentator Gomez Wanguemert points out that the congratulatory message sent to the president-elect by Premier Khrushchev highlights the belief that "Kennedy's election means the repudiation of Eisenhower's foreign policy." Wanguemert says the only hopeful sign is the possible designation of Adlai Stevenson as secretary of state, which might entail "a fresh review of the Cuban question." Several commentators proclaim that the new administration will continue to attack Cuba and the Cuban revolution, and they refer pointedly to Kennedy's suggestion that the U.S. Government aid Cuban counterrevolutionaries. In this connection, Luis Gomez Wanguemert declares that although the president-elect later withdrew these proposals the Cuban people should not be expected to forget them.

PRENSA LATINA correspondent Federico Shaw, in a dispatch from Washington, terms the election of Kennedy a clear rejection of "the disastrous Republican administration," predicts that no substantial changes can occur in U.S. foreign policy, expresses doubt that the Eisenhower position on disarmament will be modified, and claims that Kennedy's position on Communist China and Berlin does not differ essentially from President Eisenhower's. He adds that Kennedy has nothing to offer Latin America "except perhaps a few more dollars than Eisenhower for the same end of acquiring friends on the continent," and that Kennedy has stated that he intends to utilize fully the OAS against Cuba. Shaw attributes these views to unidentified "observers" and diplomatic circles.

Antonio Carillo, speaking on Radio Progreso, points out that even if there is to be no change in U.S. foreign policy, at least the new government offers the possibility of an attempt at new summit negotiations,

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inasmuch as Kennedy "is not involved up to his neck, like Eisenhower and Nixon, in the latest international provocations."

A Nov. 12 AFP dispatch from Havana claims that a change in the tone of Cuban press treatment of the president-elect has taken place and states that the press has switched from a policy of insults to a "wait-and-see attitude."

II. YUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslav view of the election results is somewhat ambivalent. Both BORBA and POLITIKA note that Yugoslav-U.S. relations, developed on a basis of mutual respect and equality, "will continue to develop well in this direction, and now they can be even better." After mentioning the "stagnation" during the Eisenhower Administration, POLITIKA says the Democrats promise "initiative and dynamism" and a desire to put America "in step with the times."

The Belgrade home service seems less enthusiastic about the new administration when it says that, regarding foreign policy, Kennedy's election speeches indicate "nothing will change in the basic concepts," and it remains to be seen which election promises will be implemented."

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III. SINO-SOVIET BLOC

A. USSR

Soviet commentators view the election results as a resounding vote of no confidence in the Eisenhower administration and its policies, foreign and domestic. Radio Moscow commentator Valentin Zorin tells home service listeners (Nov. 9) that U.S. voters gave their "unambiguous no to the cold war policy whose troubadors and champions have been Eisenhower, Nixon, and Lodge." Most of Moscow's foreign audiences are told by commentator Shakhov (Nov. 9) that by their votes "Americans rejected the arms race and cold war policies and condemned the provocative actions of the U.S. military."

In support of this line of argument, Moscow largely ignores the closeness of the final tabulations, and most commentaries leave the impression that the Democratic ticket gained a substantial majority. Newscasts, however, report the results with factual accuracy, and an occasional commentary explains the closeness of the vote by alleging a Democratic failure to speak out clearly against "cold war" policies.

New Opportunity for Detente: Kennedy's victory is seen as a new opportunity to improve U.S.-Soviet relations and to settle outstanding differences. Khrushchev's congratulatory message of Nov. 9, widely broadcast by Radio Moscow, sets the propaganda line by expressing the hope that U.S.-Soviet relations "will again follow the line along which they were developing in Franklin's Roosevelt's time." Virtually all commentators echo the reference to the allegedly halcyon days of the Roosevelt era, and many claim the Democratic victory was in part due to a recollection by the voters that it was the Democratic President Roosevelt who understood that there were no U.S.-Soviet disputes that could not be resolved through negotiations.

Khrushchev himself specifies disarmament and the German issue as two problems that could be solved given a proper climate of opinion in Washington. Routine commentators, however, refrain from mentioning specific issues; and, like Khrushchev, they do not yet call directly for negotiations on the summit level. A Nov. 11 talk to North America, for example, asks only that Kennedy's expressed aspirations for lasting peace "be reflected in concrete deeds."

No Criticism of Kennedy: Moscow's preelection comment professed to see almost no difference between the two major candidates; both were alleged to be representatives of monopoly capital and both were accused of supporting "cold war" policies in their speeches. Nixon was, however, singled out for sharpest attacks, and some slight hope was held out that Kennedy might resolve his "contradictory" campaign pledges in favor of a peaceful line of policy.

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Now, although they continue to voice objections to the Democratic Party platform, Soviet commentators refrain from personal animadversions against the president-elect. At the same time, they make no firm predictions for the future course of U.S.-Soviet relations and openly take a wait-and-see attitude in regard to the new president's policies. The Soviet home audience is told on Nov. 10 that "the near future will show whether the new president will be able and will wish to consider the desire and hopes of the voters; it will show the course he has chosen in foreign and domestic policy." IZVESTIA similarly declares, on Nov. 9, that "the immediate future will show whether the new Democratic administration will draw conclusions from the instructive returns" -- the chief lesson being according to IZVESTIA, that the American people have rejected the policies of the "cold war" and the arms race.

Broadcasts to U.S. Allies: On Nov. 9 and 10, Moscow's propaganda line as described above, was widely diffused and revealed no special tailoring for individual audiences. On Nov. 11, however, commentaries tailored for specific U.S. allies made the point that U.S. policies may well undergo change and ~~small~~ states must be careful not to miss the boat.

For example, the Spanish audience is told on Nov. 11 that the U.S. voters disapproved the Republican policy of support for fascist dictators and that Franco's regime is concerned over Nixon's defeat. Iranians hear that "reactionaries" in Iran are perturbed at the election results and fear their efforts to "sell out" Iran will prove to no avail. A broadcast to Denmark expresses regret that Danish press comment indicates that "Danish NATO circles quite plainly do not wish to notice the change which has taken place in U.S. public opinion."

Volume of Comment: The volume of Radio Moscow comment on the election results is extensive, amounting to about 15 percent of total comment on all subjects during the three-day period Nov. 9 to 11. While this figure is not unusually high for a major international event, it is considerably above that recorded for previous presidential elections. The 1952 election, in Stalin's era, and the 1956 election, occurring in the midst of the Suez and Hungarian crises, drew only a fraction of this volume of attention.

The comment is beamed to all of Moscow's audiences, home and foreign. The Soviet home service has broadcast seven radio talks on the results, compared with one in 1956. Major regional stations, too, seem to be devoting a considerable amount of time to the results, in addition to their normal relaying of the central home service. Radio Kiev broadcast two commentaries on Nov. 10 and two more on Nov. 11; it is unusual for Kiev to devote more than one radio talk per day to a single topic.

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B. Communist China

Like Moscow, Peking interprets the Republican defeat as a reflection of the "bankruptcy" of the policies pursued by the Eisenhower-Nixon administration. But unlike Moscow, Peking sees no possibility that a Kennedy administration will mean any improvement or any slackening of U.S. "aggressive" policies.

Peking's position is outlined most authoritatively in a KWANGMING DAILY article of Nov. 11. The commentator portrays Kennedy as no more than a "new tool of monopoly capital," all of whose statements on foreign policy "smack of gunpowder." "People throughout the world," the article continues, "certainly have no illusions about U.S. imperialism, which is aggressive by nature," and they will not be fooled even if Kennedy "continues the trick of pretending to favor peace while really preparing for war."

Peking has not yet taken issue directly with the Moscow expressions of hope that U.S. policies will be altered by the new administration. But NCNA transmissions include numerous reviews of world press comment purportedly indicating that the new administration will not alter U.S. policies.

The Iraqi newspaper AL-BILAD is quoted on Nov. 11 as saying: "It is mere illusion for some people to think there is a difference between Democrats and Republicans." An NCNA dispatch of Nov. 12 starts out as follows: "The next Democratic administration under Kennedy will definitely not change the aggressive and war policies consistently pursued by the Eisenhower government, comment by the U.S. and West European press and news agencies reveals." Promptly on Nov. 9 Peking quotes a Japanese trade union leader to the effect that the Japanese people "should continue their struggle and not slacken their vigilance regarding the actions of U.S. imperialism" because the new U.S. administration "will not change its basic China policy or its policy toward Japan."

C. East European Satellites

East European commentators echo Moscow and Peking in arguing that Nixon's defeat was a defeat for the "cold war" policies of the Eisenhower administration. In general, they are less reluctant than Soviet commentators to criticize Kennedy or to express doubts regarding any future policy change; but only Albania appears to side fully with Peking's view that no change in U.S. policy is possible.

On the basis of what Kennedy said during his campaign, and his close relationship with Wall Street, some East European commentators maintain there is no significant evidence that he will pursue policies much different from those of the Eisenhower-Nixon administration. However,

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they frequently cite two aspects of the Democratic victory that are allegedly favorable to Kennedy -- his party's identification with the Roosevelt administration, and his campaign declaration that he would have apologized to Khrushchev over the U-2 incident. In this declaration, Kennedy clearly reflected the will of the American people, broadcasts maintain.

Overoptimism is, however, countered by the contention that Kennedy made "contradictory" statements during his campaign and failed to define any genuine overall peace policy. Czechoslovak commentator Ludvik Cermak observes that it would be premature to assume the election will result in any "substantial changes" in U.S. policy, and adds: "We must expect, instead of a clarification of international relations, various attempts to give a new initiative to U.S. foreign policy, with the principal aim of obstructing every success of countries of the socialist camp."

Bulgarian media say Kennedy's election bears out the fact that a large segment of Americans are under the "illusion" that he may fulfill some of his preelection promises, and charges that the president-elect has announced his intention of "intensifying the anticommunist hysteria" and trying to interfere in the affairs of socialist countries.

An East German broadcast says it is "most questionable" whether Kennedy is offering the American people a genuine political alternative. But in a Nov. 9 front-page commentary, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND interprets Kennedy's victory as a defeat for American policy as pursued thus far. The paper states that "if this means that U.S. ruling circles have begun to assess their own potentialities in a more sober and realistic manner than in the past, it will certainly be a step forward." However, the paper goes on to express skepticism in this respect and concludes: "Unless the new president wants to cruelly disappoint the confidence of those who voted for him, he will have to do much thinking in the next weeks and months. This applies particularly to the paramount issue of peace and the demand for general and complete disarmament connected with it."

Poland, while agreeing with the rest of the bloc in analyzing the election as first and foremost a defeat for Eisenhower-Nixon policies, and accusing Kennedy of singing "cold war tunes" in his campaign, appears to adopt a more positive attitude toward his administration. "Kennedy has the possibility . . . of coming forth with a new initiative, either concerning disarmament negotiations or more generally concerning relations between East and West," says a ZYCIE WARSZAWY article. Warsaw observes that much will depend upon whether Kennedy chooses "liberal" aides like Adlai Stevenson or "ultrareactionaries" of the Dean Acheson school.

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The Rumanian home service on Nov. 10 carries a talk assessing the results in much the same terms as Moscow. Claiming that many people in voting for Kennedy had in mind Franklin Roosevelt, "who . . . understood the need for peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and socialist systems and even for their collaboration," the talk concludes by wondering whether the new administration "will understand the hopes and aspirations expressed by the American people."

The Bulgarian and Albanian radios assert that the election results were a rejection by the people of the Eisenhower government's "aggressive policy." Tirana, citing among other factors which have reduced American prestige "the provocations against the CPR and other socialist countries," says that the policy of Kennedy, himself a multimillionaire, will be directed by the "oligarchs and financiers," and that in pledging increased military strength and subversive activities in East Europe, Kennedy has shown himself a "devoted successor to John Foster Dulles."

D. Far Eastern Satellites

North Korea and North Vietnam, in scant comment, appear to share Peking's view that any change in U.S. policy is too remote a possibility to merit consideration. In a Nov. 11 article broadcast by the Pyongyang home service, NODONG SINMUM agrees that the elections were but a "deceptive trick" aimed at fostering illusions among voters tired of the "cold war" policies of the administration. The article stresses that despite Kennedy's victory "there can be no change in the basic policy of U.S. imperialism." A PYONGYANG SINMUN article of Nov. 11 is entitled "The Real Nature of U.S. Imperialism Cannot Be Changed."

The Hanoi paper NHAN DAN charges that Nixon and Kennedy are "only new actors in the same old play." The paper does interpret the election results as an indication of a change in the "balance of forces" in the United States itself, but warns that the American people "cannot content themselves with holding a smaller devil in their arms."

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IV. LATE REACTION

Monitored comment dealing with the election results slackens from most parts of the world after Nov. 12. An exception is Radio Cairo, which continues to broadcast several commentaries or editorials a day urging the new president to reconsider his position on the Arab-Israeli dispute. Most noncommunist radio comment now consists of reviews of foreign reaction to the election, with the accent on favorable comment. In some quarters there is a slight muting of the initial stress on expectations of changes in U.S. policies, and more comment is heard to the effect that there will be no basic revision of U.S. foreign policy under the new administration. The most commonly repeated theme in late noncommunist Asian comment is the hope that President Kennedy will be able to negotiate with Soviet Premier Khrushchev to ease world tension. Little or no comment on the election appears to have been broadcast by Cuban stations over the weekend.

Late Soviet comment is keyed primarily to Khrushchev's message of congratulation to the president-elect. A few Moscow commentaries tailored for particular countries discuss the impact of the election results in those countries. A Moscow broadcast in Japanese links the U.S. elections with the current Japanese electoral campaign, while a commentary beamed to Southeast Asian audiences accuses the Eisenhower administration of covering up its election defeat with the "brandishing of arms," a reference to a recent statement on the combat-readiness of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. This commentary attributes Kennedy's victory to his "promise to follow the teachings of the late President Roosevelt" on friendly relations with the USSR; if Kennedy fails to live up to this promise, "he will meet the same fate as Nixon." A commentary beamed to the United Kingdom, reporting the Soviet public's belief that the election results "promise new times," observes that the reappointment of J. Edgar Hoover and Allen Dulles "makes it difficult to judge" whether this promise will materialize.

Peking's NCNA transmits numerous dispatches reviewing foreign press comment supporting the Communist Chinese view that Kennedy's policies and attitudes will not differ from those of his predecessor. NCNA reports without comment the retention of Allen Dulles and J. Edgar Hoover in the new administration but notes that Stuart Symington has been designated by the president-elect to "step up arms expansion and war preparations."

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Dulles

Would you wish me to send copies of the attached to Andy Goodpaster; Bob Cushman; Pierre Salinger (for Mr. Kennedy); and Max Lehrer (for Senator Johnson).

*Take some copies
to R. B. Tob.*



14 November 60
(DATE)

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